1: Gusinde
102, 103, 133, 491

SH6 Yahgan SH6

[End Map I, pages 1458-1465, has been divided into sections as indicated below.]

A 1458	B 1459	C 1460	D 1461
E 1462	F 1463	G 1464	H 1465

1: Gusinde--xv E-5 (1918-1924)1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

●133

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[23]

/371 cont./

Spanish/. Anyone who abandons his hut relinquishes the framework and, consciously or unconsciously, places it at the disposal of anyone who wishes to use it later.

mentioned here in all kinds of variations (7).

7. Hyades (q) :342 calls them "a kind of arbor of foliage" /translated from French/. Despard (b) :680 also mentions them.

2. The Two Types of Huts

In the extensive Yamana territory, from the Brecknock Peninsula to Nueva Island and down to Cape Horn, two types of huts for dwellings have developed, namely, the cone-shaped and the dome-shaped. For the time being we shall leave it an open question as to which of the two is ethnologically older here in Tierra del Fuego.

For this question a not unimportant fact is that each of the two types has its definitely limited geographical distribution: in the damp, heavily timbered west the dome-shaped hut is indigenous; in the drier, open east, the cone-shaped one. For both types environmental factors have been at least contributory, perhaps even decisive.

342
133
137

The Indians gave me reasons which alone may suffice to explain the origin of both types. In the west humidity and dampness greatly predominate. The surface of the ground is much more irregular, and almost everywhere at sea level level ground with gravel or broken stones is absent. The northerly slopes of the rocks not only get the vital force of the sun, but are protected against storm and inclement weather. Thus, a thicker and more compact growth of trees develops here, and even in the smallest crevices the firm roots of the Antarctic beeches find sufficient anchorage. In the west there are few big trees, but there is a preponderance of thin, irregular, flexible trunks that shoot up quickly. They grow close to every shore /372/ and can be uprooted easily because their roots do not penetrate the rocky ground.

342

In low places the wind can not exert its full force, except in a few spots, and therefore the dome-shaped hut may be used. It has

/380 cont./

361 given to quiet bays and a coastline made safe by islands lying in front of it. Here, too, however, no one escapes all the hardships of the fickle weather (29) because the huts themselves are only frail

> 29. In this connection Bove (e) :157 writes: "Their miserable huts are usually placed on the inner side of the little bays that cut deep into Tierra del Fuego. Even though these afford them some protection against the weather, it nevertheless happens that the poor occupants are half buried in snow the next morning or half drowned by rain."

structures. These statements will explain the phenomenon, surprising to some Europeans, that today throughout the entire Yamana region one finds traces of former campsites at every turn.

361 A family is no more independent in choosing the length of
484 time they may stay in one place than it is in choosing a campsite. Journeys overland are not undertaken, if only because it is not easy to drag the canoe along. On journeys by water, wind and weather determine the direction or make progress impossible. Sometimes /381/ these people cannot leave their camp for days because of the unremitting disturbances of nature, and they are then powerless to undertake anything even if they are tormented by hunger. If, as a result of threatening danger, they have been obliged to land quickly at a random spot, their lot may be only boggy clods of earth or water-soaked ground (30) which they can escape only when the weather

8

[133]

> 30. Hyades (f) :557 observed: "The earth is so wet that often water runs off if one merely exerts a little pressure on the ground, and the natives are sometimes forced to make a ditch across the middle of the hut for drainage" /translated from French/.

grows calm. Thus, the restlessness of their nomadic life is very often linked with danger and considerable renunciation or even the abandonment of the most modest demands of human well-being. The stable dwelling, however, erected for a sojourn of several days at a suitable place that has been freely chosen, does offer some minor conveniences.

/600 cont./

172 other places were very often visited. For example, in Puerto Mejillones and in Puerto Róbalo long mound ridges were built up to a height of four meters and more. We can easily measure the depth of the shell mounds in those few places where the sea has washed away one side of the heap (Fig. 72).

172 133 From these occurrences, which are after all rare, Lothrop (b):195 concluded that the earth has settled since the first habitation. Contrary to this completely unauthoritative view, it is certain that this region underwent a post-glacial relative upheaval (392). Whether this is continuing in the present time and

392. Naturally we are referring here to the geologically latest post-glacial surface fluctuations. Unfortunately very little is known about them, and long-term soundings have not been undertaken in Tierra del Fuego. Thore G. Halle ("On Quarternary deposits and change of level in Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego," Bulletin of the Geological Institute Upsala, Vol. 9, 1910) mentions elevated terraces six meters above sea level along the shore on the north side of Gable Island. J.G. Andersson also observed these at other places along Beagle Channel at a height of three and a half meters. Finally, O. Nordenskjoeld described terrace ten meters high at Ushuaia. They are all post-glacial phenomena, and their upthrust is very slight.

subsequent to the deposit of the lowest shell-heap strata has by no means been proved for Tierra del Fuego (393). Possibly an argument

393. In this interpretation of the age of the Beagle Channel shell mounds, I am relying on the trustworthy decision of Professor Dr. O. Schmieder of Kiel who, in reply to my request, gave the following additional information in his letter of March 18, 1933:

172
133

/600 cont./

"In the present state of our knowledge we cannot definitely say whether the coast is rising, sinking, or remaining level. The land has been post-glacially elevated, but these recent upheavals proceed very slowly, and it remains to be determined whether or not the movement has continued in the last few centuries."

Since I have not personally made careful investigations of the height in relation to sea level of shell mounds farther away from the water line, my conjecture that the above-mentioned minor circumstance possibly argues for an upheaval does not definitively settle this question. Earlier, Nordenskjoeld (f):216 stated the following view: "When the glacial period ended, Tierra del Fuego was only about 60 meters lower than it is now. It rose after that, but now the upthrust seems to be slight or not going on at all."

in favor of it is that in some places along open and /601/ flat coasts the shell heaps lie far away from the water line and a wider beach may have formed later on. There are no tangible reasons why the earlier Indians should have built their huts as far from the water line /Fig. 72 appears here/ as the shell mounds are now to be found. In any case whether or not the insignificant factor mentioned above indicates an upheaval, there is nothing that proves the land has settled. In those places lying farther back, however, the advantage for research is that at least the actual depth of the mussel stratum becomes clearly visible. The fact that in the case of individual mounds some lateral walls facing the water have been undermined and eroded is, contrary to Lothrop's conjecture, correctly interpreted only as the action of high tides. The first deposits had initially formed near the water line, and the more they grew, the more the bottom strata spread out in the course of time, almost up to the highest water level at flood-tide.

172 On the shell mounds cut into by the waves, we can see at a

/1311 cont./

There is a mountain massif in the west, whose highest peaks suggest the figure of a hunter carrying two wild geese on his back and accompanied on either side by a dog. This man turned to stone there, it is no longer known why, but anyone traveling near there is supposed to remain quiet. Spencer:82 writes: "Ken told me story of boiling lake high up on Hoste Island behind the tall snow peak on Dumas Peninsula seen from Rio Douglas. Too hot to hold hand in and very dangerous to go near" /cited in English/. It is not generally known that there are warm springs here and there in the Cape Horn Archipelago. Not far from Punta Remolino, at a considerable altitude, I myself visited a mineral spring. The following statement by Spencer:82 is vague: "There is a special cove on Tekenika Bay with a cave in which lives a dangerous spirit. No Yahgan dare stay there at night. George told Ken, who had done so, that he was lucky to have got out alive. Strange noises are always to be heard there at night time" /cited in English/. In the Yamana language there are several expressions which correspond exactly to our terms "lucky devil" and "unlucky fellow." According to Bridges (k):240, SD:42 gives, for example, inawálun, "successful in hunting" /cited in English/, and the combinations that can be formed with it. The superstitious beliefs of the Yamana show their tendency to be afraid and their active imaginations. /Fig. 96 appears here./

/1312/ E. The Kina Celebration

The great significance of the youth initiation for the permanence of the social order of our Foegians is outwardly expressed by the fact that the young people of both sexes are, without exception, obliged to take part in it on two occasions. By and large, the Kinaxa is obviously a continuance of parental rearing beyond the narrow confines of the family hut, and it has the special goal of making young people useful members of society. The definiteness of this goal is convincingly proved by the fact that, upon the conclusion of their initiation, the individual candidates enter adulthood and have the right to marry and found a family (p. 942). Later on, the knowledge that they have obtained

1: Gusinde--1450 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SHS Yahgan SHS

142
302
291

Yamana Man

Yamana Woman

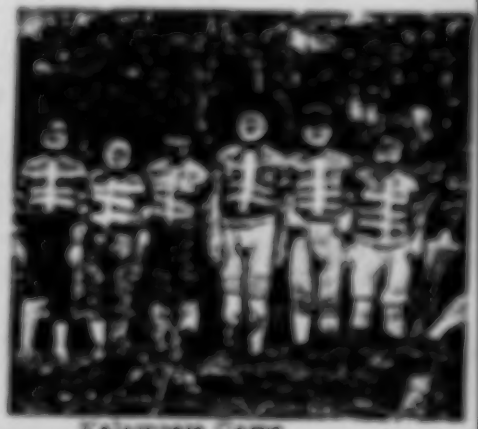
Yamana Children

Children at Play

133

Beach of Beagle Channel

Kina Hut



Kalanyara Game

Kina Spirit Kina Spirit Kina Spirit Kina Spirit

Universia at the Foot of Mount Olivia

137

Antarctic Peninsula

Mounting Painting

Man Painting Themselves

Mourning Painting

• 133

Northern of Beagle Channel

/End Map L Section A/

1.Gonzalo---1469 8-5 (1910-1930) 1937 1016 Tahgon 3156

/End Map 1. Section B/

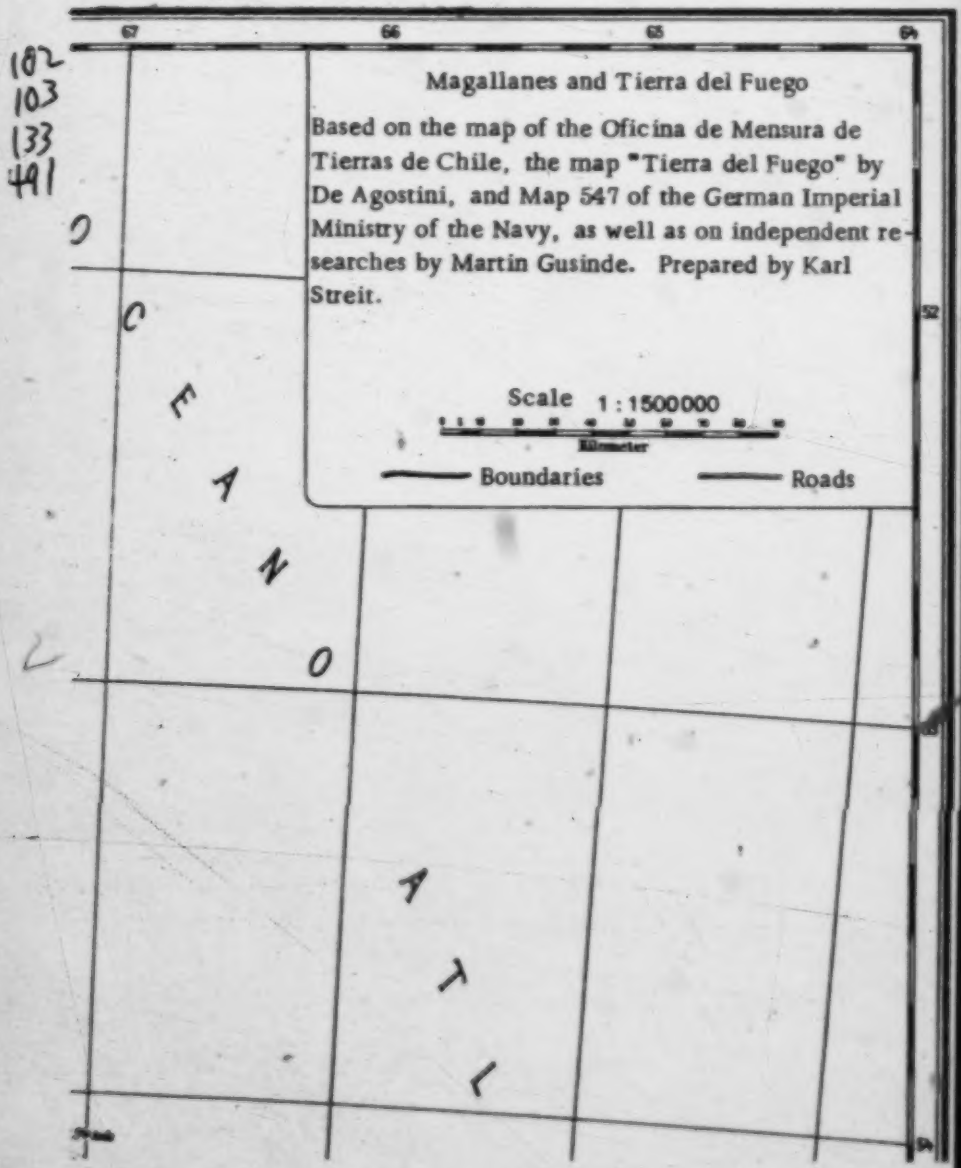
1:Gusinde--1460 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section C/

102
103
133
491

1:Gusinde--1461 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I. Section D/



1:Gusinde--1462 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section E/

102
103
133
491

1:Gusinde--1463 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section F/

102
103
133
491

1:Gusinde--1464 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section G/

1.Gustinde--1465 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/End Map I, Section H/

102
103
133
491

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

THE YAHGAN

By JOHN M. COOPER

INTRODUCTION

133 **Natural environment.**—The *Yahgan* habitat is archipelagic, the mountainous islands constituting the last outposts of the Andean chain before it dips beneath the sea at Cape Horn (map 1, *No. 1A;* 132 map 2).[1] Atmospheric temperatures at sea level differ somewhat from locality to locality, with a summer mean around 50° F., a winter mean close to the freezing point, and a winter minimum around 10° F. Snowfalls not infrequently occur even in the summer months (pl. 35). Relatively very cold or very warm spells are usually of short duration. Sudden changes in temperature, in wind velocity, and in sunshine, cloudiness, and precipitation are characteristic. Violent squalls and strong gales are common.

137 The islands up to about 1,500 feet altitude are heavily wooded, chiefly with beeches (*Nothofagus betuloides* and *N. pumilio*, evergreens; *N. antarctica*, deciduous), together with Winter's bark (*Drimys winteri*), "cypress" (*Libocedrus tetragona*), and leña dura (*Maytenus magellanica*). The forest floor is thickly covered with rotting and rotten fallen trunks, which with the thick spiny masses of barberry bushes (*Berberis ilicifolia* and *B. buxifolia*) and holly (*Pernettya mucronata*) make travel through the woods extremely 136 slow and difficult. Foxes and rats, the land mammals that could have helped in the *Yahgan* dietary, were eschewed. Marine mam- [262] mals, fish, and other sea food were abundant in most localities. As a result of the foregoing conditions, the *Yahgan* lived mostly on the [361] water and along the shore line, penetrating inland very little.

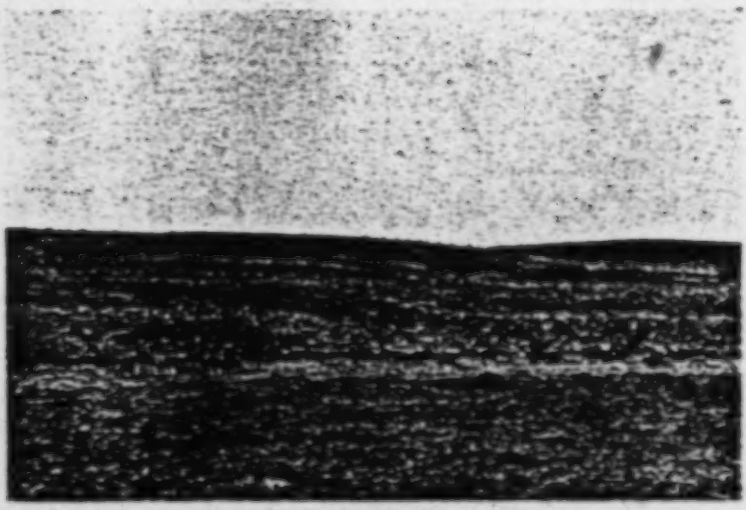
131 **Territory.**—In the last century and probably from much earlier times the *Yahgan* regularly occupied the southern coast of Tierra del Fuego Island from about the eastern end of Beagle Channel to Brecknock Peninsula, and the islands south of this line to Cape Horn. But they evidently wandered more widely; *Yahgan* house sites and implements have been found as far north as Elizabeth Island in the Strait of Magellan (Bird, 1938, p. 260). Between Good Success Bay and the eastern end of Beagle Channel, there was considerable

832491—52——6

[1] [These maps have not been processed; See source 1: Gusinde, category 116, end maps, for similar information--analyst]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

133



THE PLAINS OF TIERRA DEL FUEGO

[p. 16-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

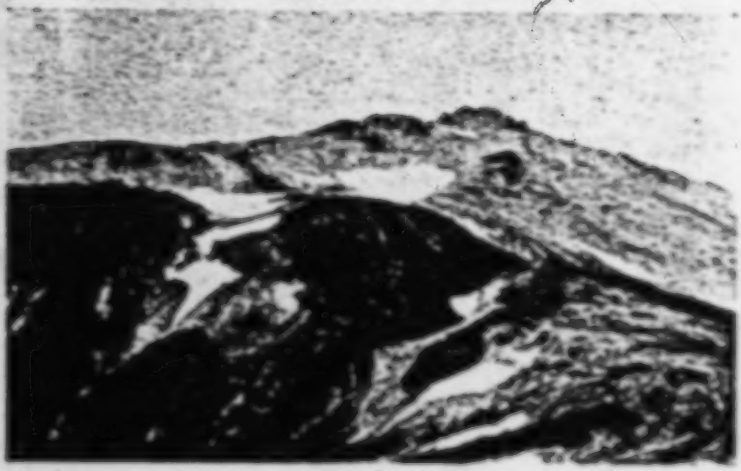
and a host of smaller ones (Gable, Picton, Lennox, New, etc.). Still farther south lie the Wollaston islands. Of these the southernmost is Horn island, terminating in the well-known Cape Horn. This isolated, sea-girt landmark faces the unquiet waters of the Antarctic ocean about seventy miles off the south shores of Tierra del Fuego.

Westward from the main island of Tierra del Fuego, across the Straits of Magellan, is the Brunswick peninsula, whose ultimate tip, Cape Froward, boldly marks the end of continental South America. Nearby are Dawson island, Clarence island, Santa Inés island, and others too numerous to mention.

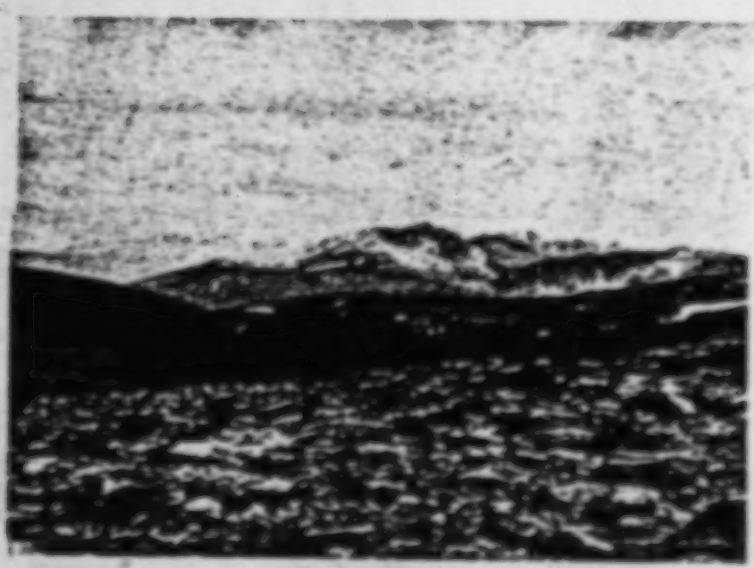
The main island of Tierra del Fuego presents two types of topography: plains and mountains. The northern and eastern parts are a rolling plain, bare except for grass and small bushes, hummocked by glacial ice, of the same Tertiary formation as the Patagonian plains (pl. 1). In the northwest the land rises abruptly and Mesozoic rocks appear as in the Pre-Cordillera range in South America. The western and southern coasts are almost completely isolated from the rest of the island by Admiralty sound, an arm of the sea, and Lake Fagnano, a freshwater lake lying in the same axis. Between these two submerged valleys and the Antarctic ocean pass the Andes, which, after running north and south through the continent, here bend eastward to disappear beneath the waters of the South Atlantic. Their peaks in Tierra del Fuego reach an average height of 3500 feet, but numerous passes exist at about the 2000-foot level, where snow-packets linger even in summer (pl. II). Glaciers nourished by beds of eternal snow creep to the sea on the west and south.

The Magellanic archipelago then falls in three geographic entities, and each of these was occupied not long ago by corresponding kinds of Indians, speaking unrelated tongues. These divisions are: (1) Tierra del Fuego, occupied by the *Ona* and *Haush;* (2) the southern islands and the south shore of Tierra del Fuego (pl. III), peopled by the *Yahgan;* and (3) the western islands, where lived the *Alacaluf*. The Yahgan and Alacaluf were separated by Brecknock peninsula, a barren headland, sea-girt, with no protecting island fringe, and therefore exposed to the full fury of storms sweeping across the Pacific ocean.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6



[illegible] SIDE OF THE PASS



SOUTH SIDE OF THE PASS

[illegible] MOUNTAINS SEEN FROM THE [illegible] CAVE [illegible] TIERRA DEL FUEGO.

[p. 19-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

133

[p 20-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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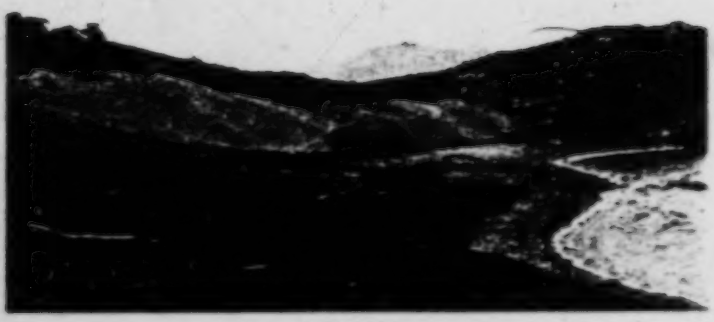
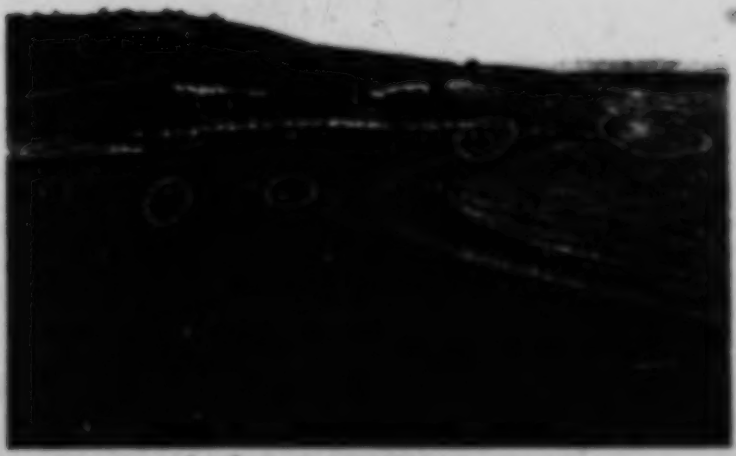
172



GABLE ISLAND SHELLHEAPS
[p. 180-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172
133



[p. 184-A]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

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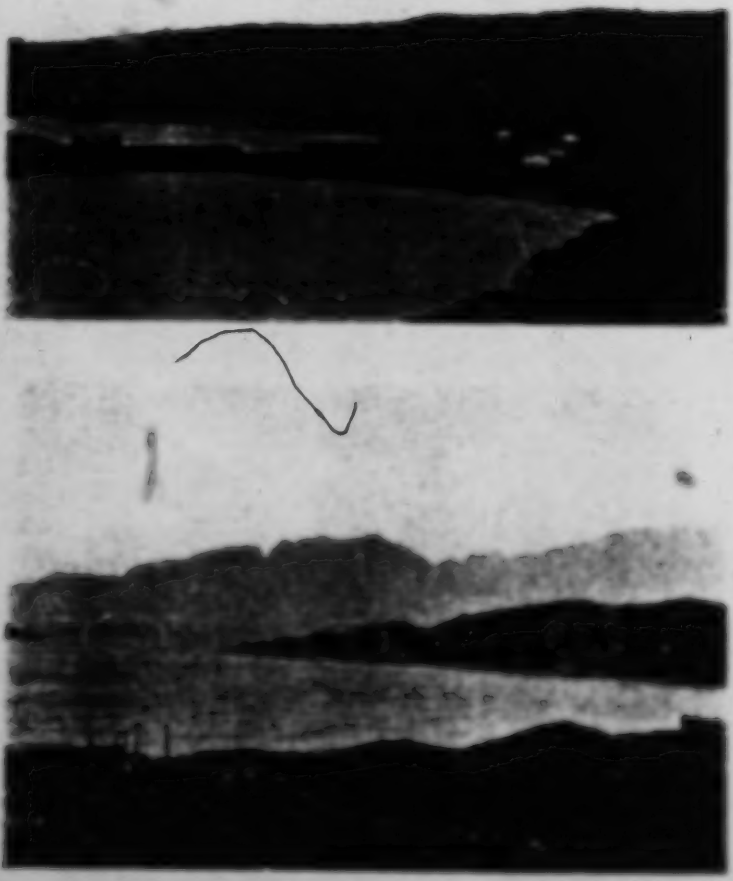

[illegible]
[p. 168-A]

135

[illegible] MINERAL RESOURCES—availability or significant lack of mineral deposits (e.g., marble, stone, coal, petroleum, clay, ores); quarrying, quality, and distribution of minerals; etc. See also
[illegible] . . . . . 5 Geology . . . . . [illegible]
[illegible] . . . . . [illegible] Petroleum and coal products industries . . [illegible]

/437 cont./

30| independence, which is one of the character traits of these Indians, allows everyone the most complete freedom in his use of articles of adornment, just as in the painting of his body (p. 90). No one is surprised and no one would regard it as heightened vanity or an over-fondness for dress if today this person and tomorrow that one would appear, unexpectedly and without occasion, decked out with quantities of ornaments.

As such, the amount of ornaments and jewelry of these Indians is meager and simple, like all their possessions generally. Bove (1):38, exaggerating this simplicity, says: "Two o three lines of paint on the face and a necklace of shells or bird bones are the sole ornaments of a Fuegian" /translated from Spanish/. Certain occasions, however, such as general gatherings and larger social activities, have induced these people to make other, special ornaments, namely, their favorite headbands of bird feathers and down. We shall discuss these things below. Here we have mentioned and described only what belongs to their everyday life. The ornaments of our Yamana more or less re-
[178] semble those of the Selk'nam, but are, on the whole, prettier, more artistic, and more varied. Here, however, we do not have
[179] narrowing which their neighbors are fond of in a certain form and frequency (Vol. I, 228). Every other type of ornamentation, such as ear rings, precious stones, actual trophies, and body mutilation, are unknown down there in the ordinarily Cape Horn region.

D. Implements, Tools, Weapons

32. In making his essential implements, the Yamana is altogether dependent on the scant products of his homeland. Hence
[77] it is not surprising that he uses only wood, bone, and shell to make the tools that he needs in his daily work and in hunting. He has not advanced to the use of stone to any degree worth mentioning. Copper ore which is found there in certain places has
•[80] never been noticed, let alone utilized. If we judge the Fuegian by the materials that he uses for his implements, it becomes obvious that he occupies a lower stage in the development of material culture than the much-sought European man of the Stone Age. The former is still actually present among us, he former disappeared long centuries ago.

136

136 FAUNA--principal native species, especially mammals, reptiles, birds, fish and shellfish, insects, and disease-bearing micro-organisms; historical changes (e.g., introduced species), etc. See also:
[illegible] . . . . . 38 [illegible] 66
[illegible] 38

/416 cont./

దబ్బి దబ్బి durably. They cut the edges approximately straight and lay them side by side. Near the edges of the two pieces they make a small hole by pricking the leather with an awl or a pointed bone. Into this hole they thread a tendon fiber, చేలిమి, holding it with thumb and index finger and licking it to make it pointed. Then another little hole is bored, and the thread is drawn from one hole to the other over the free edge in a spiral. Finally, they pound the two edges, which are not quite flat, with a round stone to make them flat and less hard so that they will not rub unpleasantly. Such work is very coarse and uneven, for they lack convenient tools. They fasten strands of leather and straps together or tie them to other things simply by knotting them.

చేలిమి చేలిమి The fibers of tendon which we have just mentioned, known as చేలిమి or సిన్ను, are often used to sewing and joining pieces of leather. Strands of guanaco tendon are separated into fibers, but a person who does not have these uses the tendon fibers of otter or beaver (Myocastor coipus) tails. The beaver is rare here, however. After they have skinned the animal, they cut off the tail at the root. It is dried for some time, and the individual vertebrae are broken off without tearing the tendons. The last two or three vertebrae are left together. The tendons which have been loosened by this process are separated with the fingernails until they become thin enough to be used for sewing. They then hang like a tuft on the smallest vertebrae of the tail and can be torn off with a sharp tug.

C. Cleanliness and Body Ornamentation

దర్శ దర్శ Every stranger is repulsed by the unclean, unkempt appearance of the Tehuelche (91). It is disgusting to see these human

91. Among the opinions of foreign travelers I shall cite only what Snow (x) J. Dil has written: "They appeared to have no idea of cleanliness, for a dirtier set of individuals I have rarely met with; and I imagine they never attempt to wash themselves" /cited in English/.

/419 cont./

In this connection we may also mention the fact that these people do not have a definite characteristic skin odor. If they had, it would be hardly or not at all noticeable because of all the blubber they smear on themselves and the thick, smothering smoke that constantly affects the skin. We realize the effect this smoke has when we see the dark brown coloring it produces, which apparently goes deep. Also, the skin is slightly moist from fog or damp air, it exudes a strong, almost biting odor which is most disagreeable in a closed room. It is, of course, transferred to the dogs and to all the implements they use which are lying about in the hut. Thus the European visitor is smelled with an indefinable mixture of /419/ /fig. 17 appears here/ the odors of smoke and blubber coming from the Indian himself, from his hut (98), and

> 98. Spegazzini (c) 163 says maliciously: "The smoke, the odor, not very much like roses, and the other dangerous inconveniences of these saloons force the curious visitor to go out very quickly" /translated from Spanish/.

from everything he owns, which cannot be withstood by everyone.

Along with all this and the general lack of cleanliness, there are their particularly repulsive vermin or lice, which are numerous and crawling with vermin (99). The head louse (Pediculus capitis),

> 99. The effect this has on a European is made clear by Snow (c) 1, 348: "It may be mentioned, that vermin swarmed about them and in everything they had. Whatever we purchased or obtained from them, had to be several times subjected to a purifying process" /cited in English/.

vary, thrives through the total lack of body care, and young and old are commonly scratching, especially at night in their sleep. It is impossible for the Yamana to defend themselves against this pest. The old people recall that in former times they were plagued with a similar, blackish louse, and that since the advent of the

[End of footnotes on page 97.--A.M.L.H.]

/Kill nam./

• [15] [17] European in law been replaced by a larger, grey one. Despite their unmistakably lower degree of sensitivity, the Indians find this woman a torture. A mother will sympathetically pick lice from her child, cracking them between her fingernails or teeth (17).

17. Blyden (q.)48 briefly mentions "the hunt for parasites (Pediculi capitis) to which they devote themselves in their moments of leisure" /translated from French/.

No one minds having his neighbor contently scratch his head. In the long, quiet intervals beside the evening fire in the hut these sounds, produced by first one and then another of those present, are a frequent /kll/ interruption. The individual gets no relief, however, in spite of all his scratching, and they hardly ever lose patience throughout this torture.

[17] In the last decades the clothes louse (Pediculus vestimenti) has also spread throughout the region, introduced by Europeans. The older people do not recall this pest, the general conditions for its development were poor in any case. When a person removes his clothing -- nowadays everyone wears only European clothing -- the well-known traces of lice are revealed all over his body. These people are constantly scratching their bodies. I cannot say whether Pediculus pubis is present, but this species also is probably not entirely absent.

[14] [13] The head hair of the Tzotzil is naturally black, stiff, and thick. Although it is liberally greased with bidden, dirt and lice prevent it from ever being soft and attractively shiny. It grows considerably long, and young women it reaches about to their shoulders, which is why it does not lend itself to a particular type of coiffure. Everyone wears his hair open and loose; it lies on their head in thick strands. Some women cut the hair on their forehead at their eyebrows (18). Occasionally, if a person does

18. Blyden (q.)30 speaks of "hair cut in front 'dog fashion'" /translated from French/. Lothrop (b)184 expresses himself in more general terms.

L: Gunnde--083 1-0 (1918-1924) 1957 SHE Tahgan SHE

/SHE cont./

224 from the outermost islands, possibly into the quiet channels directly adjacent where most species can actually be seen throughout the year (277). Our Indians apparently are not the least interested

[36]

277. Careful observations of the Mission Scientifique, reported by Hyades (h):14, leave no doubt about the regular departure of certain smaller species of fish from the Orange Bay region. There they are "numerous and of good quality, but only during the months of the summer season, that is to say, from December to March" /translated from French/. In another place, namely, (g):17, he repeats: "When winter came, the fish completely disappeared; then they seemed to travel northward, for in Beagle Channel we find them all the year round." In point of fact, the difference in the average annual temperature between here and Ushuaia, about 80 kilometers in distance, is considerable.

to fresh water fish. In any case, the cold, torrential mountain streams contain but few, the most common being Galaxias maculatus. In this region there are no wide, deep rivers which it would pay to navigate (278).

278. According to Hyades (f):163, "the most common and the most prized fish are several types of Nototheniа, N. tessellata, N. macrocephalus, N. coriiceps, N. cyanobranchia, and the following species: Iderluccius gayi, Genipterus chilensis, Chomichthys mox, and Lepidochromichthys tentaculum" /translated from French/.

1: Gusinde--385 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgans SH6

/626/

•136

Fig. 76. Oyster Catcher, Haematopus ater.

/838 cont./

activities among suitable women, he also chooses a reliable man to serve as guard, called winefkē'a. This is the name for Leucophaeus scoresbii, a feared predatory bird of the high seas, who pounces with bloodthirsty rage on other birds and fastens on to them. As a result its whole beak is often covered with blood (Fig. 82).

In imitation of the bird, the guard paints a wide red stripe over the entire lower half of his nose, continuing it two fingers in width on either side down to the edge of the chin. This decoration, which is sometimes also applied in white

Fig. 82. Leucophaeus scoresbii. Natural size.

to make it visible in the dark, is meant to show how seriously and strictly he performs his office and how threateningly he pursues everyone who disturbs the peace /839/ or is guilty of an offense. As a headdress the winefkē'a properly wears the plaited wreath of white albatross feathers, just as the yēkamus /medicine men/ do. Sometimes he changes to the hapaxēl /headband/. Formerly when the Yamana did not have European clothing, the guard painted his entire body white with horizontal red stripes two fingers wide and a hand's breadth apart all around it. The Indians have retained a small remnant of this to this day, for the actual guard and his helpers paint /Fig. 82 appears here/ at least the lower part of the leg and the forearm in this fashion. They no longer paint the other parts of the body, which are covered with European clothing.

The particular duty of the winefkē'a is quite obvious. He must guard the hut so that no unbidden person, especially no child, creeps up too close and sees what is going on. The camp with the dwellings is, of course, not far from the Great Hut, and in their play the children are careless enough to come too close to

/1030 cont./

181 play of forces in this ethnic group on the Cape Horn Archipelago now belongs to the past. /Fig. 88 appears here./

/1031/ Part 4

The Spiritual World of the Yamana

114 There was a time not far back when people quite generally and as a matter of course inferred from the poverty and simplicity of the external arrangements and the objects used by a primitive people that they were lacking in ideas and that their spiritual world was limited. Ever since the Yamana were visited and superficially observed by European navigators, the entire cultured world has classed them among the most unworthy representatives of the human race on account of their inhospitable native land and the unfavorable conditions of their existence. Roskoff:49 and others often repeated: "The Fuegians are, according to Reinhold Forster's remarks, 'apparently the most miserable of all peoples.'" They were judged solely by what caught the eye and by the hasty first impression that their nakedness and unattractive appearance, their way of life, and their wild behavior inevitably makes upon every European. Once established, the general opinion became deeply entrenched and continued to be untouched by this or that report which sounded somewhat more favorable. How could such a report have brought about a complete change of the previously held view when the Yamana themselves did not change in any way externally!

114 121 It is not enough to evaluate a human group solely by what strikes the eye; for that reason modern ethnography in all seriousness desires penetration into the spiritual domain of every tribe.

[136]

Fig. 88. Diomedea exulans.

/1312 cont./

X515 562 about the entire heritage of ideas and conceptions of the tribe is supplemented and amplified for the young men exclusively in the secret ceremony of kina, which on principle is reserved for the male population. Here the primary aim is not a clearly-defined goal to be achieved through training -- although training is not altogether ignored -- but rather an introduction to a unique sphere of mythological ideas which the men regard as their exclusive property. They guard it anxiously from the inquisitiveness of their wives, and sometimes, in their consciousness of this possession, they make the female population as a whole keenly aware of their superior position and their arrogance. The explanation for all this is that the kina, based on prejudiced ideas, shows a more or less marked misogyny. This one-sidedness makes the kina fundamentally different from the ceremonies. The latter is available to both sexes at puberty, the former only to mature men (266 /sic/).

[171] 266, I discovered the same conditions among the Halakwulup. These Fuegians have a separate men's ceremony besides the actual youth initiation. For the time being compare Gusinde (o):541 and (q):287.

•[136]

Fig. 95. Sea Lions, Otaria jubata.

1: Guinde--1432 E-5 (1918-1934) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

•136

/1432/

Fig. 105. Phalacrocorax gilvacem.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

THE YAHGAN

By JOHN M. COOPER

INTRODUCTION

133 **Natural environment.**—The *Yahgan* habitat is archipelagic, the mountainous islands constituting the last outposts of the Andean chain before it dips beneath the sea at Cape Horn (map 1, *No. 1A;* map 2).[1] 132 Atmospheric temperatures at sea level differ somewhat from locality to locality, with a summer mean around 50° F., a winter mean close to the freezing point, and a winter minimum around 10° F. Snowfalls not infrequently occur even in the summer months (pl. 32). Relatively very cold or very warm spells are usually of short duration. Sudden changes in temperature, in wind velocity, and in sunshine, cloudiness, and precipitation are characteristic. Violent squalls and strong gales are common.

131 The islands up to about 1,500 feet altitude are heavily wooded, chiefly with beeches (*Nothofagus betuloides* and *N. pumilio*, evergreens; *N. antarctica*, deciduous), together with Winter's bark (*Drimys winteri*), "cypress" (*Libocedrus tetragona*), and leña dura (*Maytenus magellanica*). The forest floor is thickly covered with rotting and rotten fallen trunks, which with the thick spiny masses of barberry bushes (*Berberis ilicifolia* and *B. buxifolia*) and holly (*Pernettya mucronata*) make travel through the woods extremely 134 slow and difficult. Foxes and rats, the land mammals that could 135 have helped in the *Yahgan* dietary, were eschewed. Marine mam- 136 mals, fish, and other sea food were abundant in most localities. As 137 a result of the foregoing conditions, the *Yahgan* lived mostly on the water and along the shore line, penetrating inland very little.

138 **Territory.**—In the last century and probably from much earlier times the *Yahgan* regularly occupied the southern coast of Tierra del Fuego Island from about the eastern end of Beagle Channel to Brecknock Peninsula, and the islands south of this line to Cape Horn. But they evidently wandered more widely; *Yahgan* house sites and implements have been found as far north as Elizabeth Island in the Strait of Magellan (Bird, 1938, p. 260). Between Good Success Bay and the eastern end of Beagle Channel, there was considerable

[1] [These maps have not been processed; See source 1: Goodall, Geography 116, and maps, for similar information.—ANALYST]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

137 262 the introduction of the potato to New Zealand, Tierra del Fuego is the only part of the world where cryptogamic plants form the chief vegetal diet.

However, the Fuegian Indians failed to utilize many native food plants of value, such as wild celery, two kinds of cress, wild seapink, wild parsnip, scurvy grass, and mushrooms.

[251]

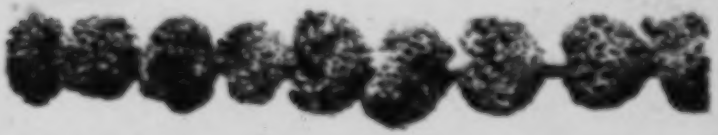

FIG. 3.—Fungi dried on a rod for winter use. Length, 8 in. (14/2279)

137 No description of the flora of Tierra del Fuego can omit mention of the gigantic kelp (*Fucus giganteus*) which almost everywhere fringes the coasts. Though the stems are not thick, they often exceed a hundred feet in length. Darwin[1] picturesquely writes: "I can only compare these great aquatic forests of the southern hemisphere with the terrestrial ones in the intertropical regions. Yet if the latter should be destroyed in any country, I do not believe that nearly so many species of animals would perish, as, under similar circumstances would happen with the kelp. Amidst the leaves of this plant numerous species of fish live, which nowhere else would find food or shelter; with their destruction the many cormorants, divers, and other fishing birds, the otters, seals, and porpoises, would soon perish also; and lastly the Fuegian savage, the miserable lord of this miserable land, would redouble his cannibal feast, decrease in numbers, and perhaps cease to exist." The kelp forms an excellent breakwater and mooring for canoes, but it is an impenetrable barrier to swimmers and has prevented many unfortunate occupants of overturned canoes from safely reaching the shore. Its appearance on the surface of the water may be seen in pl. III, top, and pl. XI, top.

FAUNA

136 From the Indian point of view what made Tierra del Fuego a suitable land for habitation was the edible fauna, which in turn

[1] 1878, p. 203.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

depended on the flora, especially the grasses on land and the kelp along the shore. 1360

Of the land animals first place in economic importance falls to the guanaco, one of the four New World varieties of camel (fig. 4). The guanaco is closely related to the llama of Peru, but, whereas the llama is found only as a domestic animal, the guanaco has never been successfully domesticated, although easily tamed. The guanaco has been succinctly described as having "the neigh of a horse, the wool of a sheep, the neck of a camel, the feet of a deer, and the swiftness of the devil."[1] In Tierra del Fuego, guanaco attain a much larger size than in Patagonia, while on Navarin island they are nearly as large as a cow.

FIG. 4.—Young guanaco.

Material culture of the Ona is based on the guanaco, and the importance of this animal in their economic life is emphasized by the highly specialized vocabulary used to describe it. Fur from new-born guanaco is exceedingly soft, and the Tehuelche of Patagonia used it for robes. The Fuegians, however, confronting greater cold, made their robes from skins of the adult animal. From guanaco-hide the Ona made their windbreaks (which served as houses), storage-bags, water-bags, and thongs; from the forehead they fabricated caps; from the sinews they made twine; from a leg bone they manufactured a chipping tool; from the hocks they fashioned moccasins. Guanaco meat, rather dry, stringy, and

[1] Musters, p. 122.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

136 tasteless to our notions, formed the principal meat diet of the *Foot* Indians. Wool was the only asset of the guanaco not utilized by the Ona, for lacking knowledge of weaving and ability to organize in large numbers, they never rounded up the wild guanaco to shear them, as was done to the llama on a large scale under the Inca dynasty in Peru.

For the Ona, second place in importance among the land animals falls to the fox (Ona: **aask**), one of the two varieties of which grows to an unusual size. I have been told that on occasions of great scarcity the foxes in Tierra del Fuego have combined to form packs in the fashion of wolves, and it is then well for a man to avoid them. Fox was sometimes eaten by the Ona, and the skin was occasionally used for robes, if guanaco were scarce. Two kinds of bags (*hásti*[a] and *kélwe*) found in every Ona household were made of fox-skin.

A small burrowing rodent (*Ctenomys fueginus*), known in Spanish as the *tucutuco* or *cururo*, was eaten by the Ona, who dug up the burrows with sticks. In places large areas of the Fuegian plains,

TABLE II.—FUEGIAN FOODS[1]

136
262

	Ona	Yahgan
animal	guanaco[Ona] fox (two kinds)[Ona] tucutucu wool (four kinds) whale rat (rare)	seal[Yah] porpoise[Yah] } all stewed whale[Yah] otter (chiefly in west) guanaco (only in east)
fish	chiefly cod[Ona]	many kinds[Yah]
shellfish, etc.	mussels[Ona] limpets crabs	mussels[Yah] limpets[Yah] conchs crabs[Yah] sea-urchins[Yah]
birds (chiefly in summer)	geese (four kinds)[Ona] duck (five kinds) cormorants[Ona]	geese[Yah] duck gulls[Yah] penguins[Yah] cormorants[Yah] } and their eggs[Yah]
vegetal (in summer)	fungus (several kinds) berries (three kinds) grass-seeds	fungus[Yah] berries

[1] Putative relative importance of foods is indicated by asterisks.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

undermined by this animal, recall the gopher burrows in western North America. 136

The Fuegian dog is not known in a wild state, and today it is extinct, although much blood of the native breed must run in the veins of the innumerable sheep dogs and hounds to be found on the island. In height the native dog ranged from 11 to 20 inches. Their ears were pointed, muzzles sharp, and skulls broad. The markings were black and white, with tan running-gear. Like most Indian dogs they lived largely on such garbage as they could pick up around the encampment, but in times of plenty they were given meat or mussels by their masters. Also occasionally they might pull down a guanaco and enjoy a square meal before the arrival of the hunter, as illustrated in the legend of Kaunip, presented later. 231

Of the sea animals, the four kinds of seal found in Fuegian waters formed the principal meat diet of the Yahgan. Not only did they eat the seal, but they used its hide for capes, moccasins, house-tops, and thongs. It is surprising they never invented a hide boat, which would have been much less perishable than their bark canoes. The Haush also ate a great many seal, and the Ona ate seal but did not specialize in its pursuit. 136

Otter of three kinds, one living on land and two in the sea, were prized by both Yahgan and Alacaluf, who used their skins for clothing. Both these peoples attacked porpoises, and at times, when some innate instinct assured them of gold weather, they pursued them far into the open sea.

To the Fuegian tribes whale was a great delicacy, and by all accounts this leviathan existed in large numbers in Fuegian waters until recently. Sometimes the Canoe Indians ventured to attack whales that had blundered into shallow water, but usually they were secured dead on the beaches. These were gala occasions, and feuds and animosities were forgotten as great numbers gathered to gorge themselves on the often putrid, decayed, and stinking flesh. When satisfied, the Yahgan sometimes buried a meat supply for under ground where, were there frost, it might be preserved for many months. This custom recalls the burying of salmon on the northwest coast of North America, where the decomposed fish was mixed with oil and eaten with gusto. [451]

Fuegian waters abound in fish, both large and small, which were eaten by all the tribes. The Ona took fish from pools at low tide, 136 224

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

while the Yahgan speared them in deep water or drew them with bait to the surface where they could be seized by hand. Failure to utilize fully the fish supply must be regarded as a great deficiency of the Fuegian economic system, a lack which might have been overcome by the invention of fish-traps and the fish-hook.

Both Foot and Canoe Indians ate great numbers of mussels, conchs, and limpets, and ancient camp-sites often are indicated by large piles of shells. This is especially true in the Yahgan country, because all their camp-sites were on the beach where shellfish were easily obtained.

The Canoe Indians ate a species of sea-urchin some three or four inches in diameter, and also crabs. Of these the most succulent is a giant spider crab (*Lithodes antarctica*), so good to eat that today it is canned and exported from Punta Arenas.

Birds abound in Tierra del Fuego. Many, to be sure, have a fishy taste, but to a palate not over-delicate they offer an abundant food supply. Among birds of economic use to the Indians we should mention four kinds of geese and five kinds of duck. The upland geese and the pin-tail duck are the best eating. Also there are many kinds of gull (including the albatross), penguins, vultures, eagles, divers, plover, and, curiously enough, a paroquet and a hummingbird.

As to the environment in general, it is much more suitable for supporting human life than is realised by those who have not visited Tierra del Fuego. The public mind, we believe, is unduly impressed by the romantic glare of the island in history, by adventurous accounts of midwinter weatherings of the Horn in sailing vessels, by modern travelers elated at the length and labor of their journeys. Glaciers descend to the sea in Tierra del Fuego, but the land also nourishes orchids, mushrooms, paroquets, hummingbirds, and butterflies. Prosperous sheep ranches with their comfortable and commodious houses and their well-stocked vegetable and flower gardens show that European standards of living can be achieved on the island. And these settlements, were over-sea transportation to be cut off, could probably maintain themselves better on local resources than most European settlements in the tropics.

The climate of Tierra del Fuego, to be sure, is severe, but it is not so extreme as inhabited regions of Europe, Asia, North America, and Greenland. Agriculture within certain limits is entirely